

# THE

US ISSN 0010-1443

# COLONIAL NEWSLETTER

P. O. Box 661

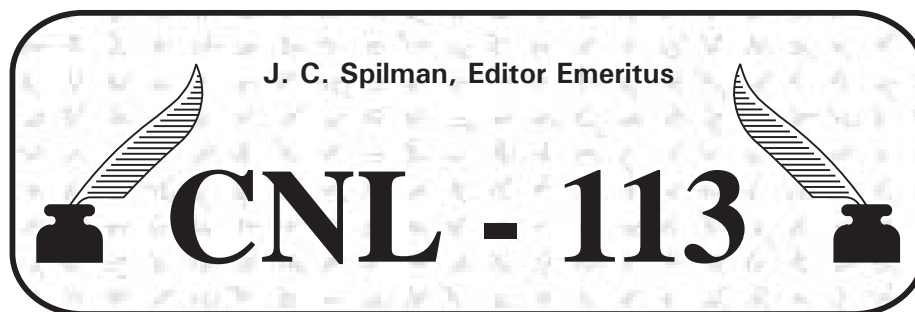
Hampden, Maine 04444

P. L. Mossman, M.D., Editor

Volume 40, No.1

April, 2000

Serial No. 113



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## EDITORIAL

Benjamin Franklin, that 18th century American genius well known in numismatic circles, wrote to a friend in 1789, "But in this world, nothing is certain but death and taxes." At the risk of appearing impudent, I would suggest a slight amendment to the words of this notable printer/philosopher/statesman, which, by their intrinsic truth, have evolved into a time-worn cliché. I would humbly suggest that a third element be added to Franklin's truism, which would now expand those certainties of life to become "death, taxes, and change." While in this election year there is copious political rhetoric about modifying taxes, one doesn't hear any proposals to alter the certitude of the remaining duo. Change has always been with us but in this rapidly evolving post-modern world, it has become so rampant, that it is now an accepted part of our everyday routine. Without doubt, change may certainly be to the good as well as to the bad – but as one of my senior medical colleagues always cautioned, "don't confuse all change with progress." In this dialogue about change the additional caveat is added – before making any final value judgment as to whether a specific change is good and progressive, versus bad and regressive, one should wait and give change a chance to work – and hope that it turns out for the good.

In case you were wondering whether the foregoing was a homily or an hallucination, my ramblings about change were prompted by the recent revelation of the fiscal realities which necessitated the current restructuring within the American Numismatic Society, the sponsor of *The Colonial Newsletter*. These changes took many by surprise – encouraging those who look with anticipation to a bright future in a new home in the financial district, while the

reaction to the curatorial downsizing ranged from disbelief to infuriation as others view that alteration as antithetical to the mission of the Society. These arguments, pro and con, have received widespread attention in the numismatic press and on the ANS website to which our patrons are referred for details.

Lest any of you have wondered, the status of *The Colonial Newsletter* is not directly affected by the current rearrangements. In order to accommodate the current restructuring underway at the ANS, Jim Spilman announced that the "experimental period" of three years described in the Memorandum of Agreement between CNLF and ANS (see *CNL* pp. 1161-62) has been extended, pending final approval of the ANS Council, so that the holdings of the *CNL* will not become the exclusive property of the ANS until April 15, 2002. Publication and distribution of *CNL* by the ANS will continue as during the past three years without interruption. So I'm glad to report – business as usual.

I misspoke – business is not as usual – it is better than usual. I'm pleased to announce that Louis Jordan has accepted an invitation to become an Associate Editor for *The Colonial Newsletter*. Serving in this capacity, Lou will join Mike Hodder and Gary Trudgen.

Lou, a native of Saugus, MA, lives with his family in South Bend, IN. He received his B.A. in History and Latin from the University of Massachusetts, Boston, in 1973, his M.A. in Medieval History from the University of Chicago in 1974, his Ph.D. from the University of Notre Dame in Medieval Studies in 1980, and his Master of Library Science from Indiana University, Bloomington, in 1981. Currently, he is the Director of Special Collections, University of Notre Dame Libraries, whose department is responsible for the Rare Books and Special Collections with a total of some 320,000 volumes within 30 or more different collections. His responsibilities also include The Medieval Institute Library, The Frank M. Folsom Ambrosiana Microfilm and Photographic Collection (25,000 microfilms, 50,000 photographs and 20,000 slides), The Anastos Collection on Byzantine Studies, and the Edmund P. Joyce Lou is also the author of several books on

Western Manuscripts. I might add that he has been very helpful to me in obtaining difficult and rare references.

We know him best as the Curator of the Numismatic Collections in charge of the University's extensive numismatic holdings which he described for us in *CNL* pp. 1919-28. While Lou has always had an interest in numismatics and has been working with coins for many years, he guesses that he will always prefer the "colonial" American period. I hope our patrons have taken advantage of his website, "The Coins of Colonial and Early America," at the URL <http://www.coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/index.html>. Dr. Jordan can be contacted by e-mail at: [louis.e.jordan.1@nd.edu](mailto:louis.e.jordan.1@nd.edu). We extend to him our cordial welcome.

Enclosed with *CNL* 113 is a new Cumulative Index composed by our Editor Emeritus, Jim Spilman. This updated index, expanded in its listings, now features a new section listing all Illustrations, Tables, and Charts, appearing in the *CNL* since its inception in October 1960. Patrons may be interested to learn that Jim and Associate Editor Gary Trudgen are currently engaged in a formidable project of putting the prior issues of the *CNL* in PDF format on a CD-ROM and on the Internet.

The Editor

## **The Research Forum REVISITED (Part III)**

by  
**James C. Spilman, Editor Emeritus**

**Based on material published in  
*The Colonial Newsletter*  
and  
the research notes of the late  
Raymond H. Williamson**

**RF-21**

### **WHO WAS H. N. RUST ?**

The five extant dies of "New Haven" Fugios (*The Colonial Newsletter*, October 1964, RF-16, page 60) [Sequential Page 119] all appear to have been owned at one time by Mr. Horatio N. Rust, believed to be of New York City. Mr. Rust reported to the Editor of *The American Journal of Numismatics* (Volume VII, page 72) his "discovery" of these dies in Bridgeport and New Haven, Connecticut. Fourteen years later, in the obituary of C. Wyllys Betts, the same journal reported that these dies were located by Betts and purchased by Rust.

This inquiry addresses itself to the positive identification of Mr. H. (Horatio?) N. Rust and to his relationship to the business and numismatic community. Any information relative to Mr. Rust will be helpful.

This question without any doubt has to ye Editor been the most fascinating search of any of our RF questions that we have published. The replies arrived, over the years, in bits and pieces and the numismatic aspects of the story as a whole have yet to be fully organized and published; additionally, some critical pieces are still missing today!

This paper is in three sections. The first, immediately following, is a blow-by-blow sequential discussion of material that has appeared in *CNL* over a period of some 23 years! Readers who may find this reiteration of old material to be of little interest should skip down to the later appendices. The second section, Appendix A\*, is a short summary of Rust's life written by the late Raymond H. Williamson and published in *The Numismatist* in September 1986. The third section, Appendix B\*, is an Annotated Time-Line of the Life of Rust prepared by ye Editor and is based on the extensive resource materials discovered by Ray in his search for Horatio N. Rust. This is followed by the references, notes and comments.

The initial RF-21 question, as above, appeared in *CNL*-23, (July 1968) Sequential Page 221, just a bit over 31 years ago. The first reply was from Bob Lindesmith and was published in *CNL* in December 1968:

\* Appendix A starts on page 2052; Appendix B starts on page 2054.

We have received a number of lengthy letters on the subject of H.N. Rust and his association with the Fugio "New Haven Restrikes" from Robert J. Lindesmith of Dayton, Washington. Bob's concepts cover a wide range of ideas and facts concerning usage of dies in this country during the mid-1800's and the personalities associated with this era of American numismatics. While this time period does not directly relate to Colonial American Numismatics, the so-called restrikes from original (circa 1787) dies certainly does concern us, especially since there has been considerable speculation concerning these specimens over the years.

We have extracted from his letters some of Bob's findings and opinions on the identity of H. N. Rust and those with whom he may have been associated. In a future issue we hope to present additional data on this subject as Bob manages to sort out and assemble more of the pieces of this puzzle.

To the editor:

I have had a fascinating time over the past few weeks in trying to establish some relationship between the intriguing information supplied in the Don Taxay article, "The Fugio Cents – Restrikes or Fabrications?," October 1968 issue of *Coins*, and the material that I have uncovered in my research on the restriking, muling, hubbing and altering of old dies that took place in the U. S. between 1859 and 1889. While I have not made a serious study of the Fugios, I believe the *CNL* patrons will find the reference to H. N. Rust of some interest.

While I did not attach any great significance to the Research Forum inquiry for information on H. N. Rust in *The Colonial Newsletter*, Taxay's failure to mention the restrikes sold from Chicago led me to dig through my unfiled notes. Lo and behold! — the following information copied from a December 18, 1914, sale held by Lyman H. Low (Lot 6):

"1787 Fugio Cent in silver. From dies found in New Haven, by the late C. Wyllys Betts. Soon after, they became the property of H. N. Rust of Chicago, who struck copies from them, and issued a circular advertising them for sale. Later, about 1878, Capt. J. W. Haseltine and the late J. Colvin Randall came into possession of the dies, and struck specimens in gold, silver and bronze. Following this last emission, I believe the dies were destroyed. About pfct. 180 grs."

At the time I copied this item, I was working on background material for my article on Mason & Co. 1870 Store Cards which appeared in the *TAMS JOURNAL*, IV-122, *CORRECTIONS IV-161*. This article, in part, covers the odd use made of old dies in Philadelphia around 1870.

I believe Low obtained his information on the New Haven restrikes from his sale of the Groh Collection. Under Lot 30 of the May 17, 1905 sale he makes a brief reference to Betts, Rust and Randall.

In respect to the identity of the true New Haven restrikes, I would be inclined to believe that the following listings found in the catalog of the Benjamin Haines' collection of Elizabeth, N. J., which was sold in January 19-23, 1863, by Bangs, Merwin & Co. would pinpoint the 104-FF variety:

**Lot 1987** 1787 Franklin, struck in silver; re-struck from the original dies.

**Lot 1988** 1787 Franklin, re-struck in copper, from original dies.

As Haines prepared the catalog and since his collection of U. S. Store Cards contained a large number of mules and restrikes struck by the Scoville Manufacturing Co., his reference to restrikes from original dies would certainly indicate that the Waterbury firm used original dies, in some form, to create the so-called restrikes.

In checking through some recently acquired Woodward catalogs, I found the following fascinating entry from the William J. Jenks collection of Philadelphia Auction. (January 10-13, 1881 – Elliot Woodward):

**Lot 1544** H. N. Rust. Bust; rev., inscrip.; bronze, proof. Size 20 (32 mm.).

That the above piece could have been struck by the Scoville firm is indicated by the following entry in a March 6-11, 1882, Woodward catalog:

**Lot 749** Medal of Stephen H. Tyng. The dies of this medal were recently destroyed by a fire in Waterbury; it is very rare, fine. Bronze Size 20.

The Rust medal would seem to leave little doubt that a H. N. Rust did exist and could serve as additional proof that Rust very likely was responsible for the New Haven restrikes. Possibly the inscription on the reverse of this medal would shed some additional light on the subject.

Another interesting entry is found in a May 18-19, 1881, auction catalog:

**Lot 690** A. B. Sage's Numismatic Gallery, Uncirculated, Size 20, 7 pieces, Henry Bogert, Winslow Lewis, M.D., C. I. Bushnell, Frank Jaundon, William H. Chesley, Robert J. Dodge, Horatio N. Rust.

With the 690 entry in mind, the legend on the obverse die of the A. B. Sage store card of New York City, Adams 753, 754, 755, and 756 (Silver-CopperBrass-White Metal), Size 20, becomes significant:

A. B. SAGE & CO./ DEALERS IN / COINS / MEDALS &  
TOKENS / BOOKS, STATIONERY / ENGRAVING & PRINTINGS /  
AUTOGRAPHS & CURIOSITIES / CIRCULATING LIBRARY /  
24 DIVISION ST. / NEW YORK. /1860

As the dies for the various Sage issues were prepared and struck by George H. Lovett, we can be rather certain that Rust sold the three Fugio dies to Sage and that it was Lovett who did not succeed in striking from them. (See Reference 16 for a clarification of this comment – JCS).

Just as in the above case, I'm sure that all the pieces of the New Haven jigsaw puzzle do exist. And while I'm not certain of the position of some pieces, it does seem possible that it can be worked out along the lines of the article that appeared in the 1873 issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics*. If this is true, it would appear that the history of the New Haven dies is not as "sordid" as indicated by Taxay.

□□ **At this point it was reasonably certain that there had actually been a man named H. N. Rust, that his first name was Horatio and that his portrait appeared on a token manufactured around 1860 by A. B. Sage of New York. Then in the March 1969 issue of CNL we published another letter from Bob Lindesmith and, in addition, some comments from Eric P. Newman.**

In this issue, we are presenting additional extracts from Robert J. Lindesmith's letters on the subject of the "New Haven Restrikes," H. N. Rust and C. I. Bushnell. Bob takes issue with ye editor's proposition that C. I. Bushnell may have been the victim of a fraud, as suggested in my comments on the "New Haven Restrikes" in the last issue (Ref. 7)\*, and presents some convincing arguments against this possibility. As the reader goes through these ideas, it must be kept in mind that these are only "pieces of the puzzle" and that the puzzle remains to be assembled.

• • **Eric P. Newman commented in a letter**

"... Regarding H. N. Rust, -- Someone should forthwith look him up in the Chicago directories, biographical publications, and other sources."

And to make our collection of "pieces of the puzzle" more extensive, in a telephone conversation with Mr. Don Taxay, Don mentioned that during some recent research on Indian Peace Medals, he had come across a reference to an individual, apparently an archaeologist and a very young man at the time named Horatio N. Rust. JCS

• • **from Robert J. Lindesmith**

Your reference to a hub raised from the genuine Fugio Obverse No. 5 die supplies a rather logical reason for my difficulty in piecing together a story of the New Haven restrikes, as based on the Taxay article that satisfied all the questions raised in my mind. As I have strong reasons to believe that you are wrong in your belief that Bushnell was "taken," I will make an effort to cover my reasons and to explain why I consider your reference to the Obverse 5 die so important.

In my research on the token and medal field, I have noted numerous references to the so-called "Bushnell Story," but unfortunately I have failed to locate any publication of the "Inside Story." And while I have reasons to believe that it concerns Hard Times Tokens, Low 24, 25, 26, 27, 41, 42, and 43, there is a chance that it may also include the so-called Fugio fabrications, 101-AA, 101-BB, 101-EE and 103-EE.

Under Low 50, Lyman H. Low makes the following comment:

"This piece was first introduced to the public by the late Charles I. Bushnell in his work (referred to in the introduction), published in 1858. It next appeared in his collection of coins, which was dispersed by auction in 1881. I purchased the piece for a collector who still retains it; no other is known to me, and I have no hesitancy in stating that my conclusions are that it is unique and was struck from dies made by Bushnell's order. I hold a similar unfavorable opinion of Nos. 24, 25, 26, 27, 41, 42 and 43, but in these latter I think a partner was admitted and a very limited number of each was struck, but probably only single specimens in silver."

In this case, I'm quite sure that Low is wrong as there are a good number of reasons why it is doubtful that Low 50 belongs to the Bushnell group. The important point is that this reference as well as several other somewhat misleading references indicate the probability that the Scovill die-sinker may have used old dies in some manner to create the dies used in the striking of Low 24, 25, 26, etc.

With the above in mind, there is the interesting possibility that the three dies sold by H. N. Rust to a New York dealer were acquired by Bushnell. 102 and GG could represent two of the dies. Thus the Scovill firm struck the New Haven restrikes from dies that were created from the originals sent by H. N. Rust. 101-AA represents the dies created for Bushnell from the dies sold to the New York dealer. This would explain the reason for the 103 die and the 101-EE and 103-EE combinations, etc.

The “Maiden Lane” address of the Scovill Manufacturing Company’s outlet in New York City in the 1850’s; Bushnell’s friendship with Charles Cushing Wright who had a studio on Maiden Lane; the fact that Wright had cut a number of earlier dies for the Scovills; the Washington dies cut by Wright for Bushnell; Bushnell’s interest in store cards and medals and Bushnell’s occupation (lawyer) would suggest that Bushnell was on good terms with the Scovill firm of Waterbury at that time.

While I’m not certain that there is any connection, one set of the Bushnell dies – Washington (cut by Wright) – were altered at a later date in Philadelphia and were used in the striking of medals for the Messrs. Chapman on the occasion of the Centennial of Washington’s inauguration in 1889 (No. 52, *The Numismatist*, LXII, 1949, p. 404). The same concern that altered these dies (I believe) also altered and restruck several other Wright and Bale dies. They also struck a few impressions on gold planchets in some cases (two or three impressions). For this reason I am led to believe that the gold impressions of 101-M and 103-EE were struck in Philadelphia. With the exception of medals, I have not noted any reference to gold varieties struck in any other location outside of Philadelphia. Just as an added illustration, it is interesting to note that the Scovill firm struck silver and copper specimens of the New Haven Restrikes and that the gold specimens were struck in Philadelphia.

Don Taxay’s coverage of C. Wyllys Betts in *Counterfeit Mis-Struck and Unofficial U.S. Coins* (pages 139 to 147) will explain why there is a natural question mark as to just what Fugio dies (if any) were discovered by Betts, although it is possible that the discovery of the dies was responsible for his interest in the subject.

On the basis of Taxay’s article in *Coins* on “The Fugio Cents,” the failure to locate original dies does raise an interesting question as to just what happened to the original dies discovered by Betts. As there is chance that the original dies were destroyed by natural causes, such as the Chicago fire (1871) and the Scovill fire [ca. 1880 - JCS], it would appear that the restrikes of 102-GG could represent an important key to the true story.

If we consider the importance of the Fugio subject in relation to American numismatics, I would be inclined to believe that Betts did discover the dies as reported in the 1873 issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics*. If the story of the original dies was a fabrication created to serve as a foundation for the so-called Fugio restrikes, it is my impression that some collector or dealer would have exposed the true story a long time ago. The very questionable nature of the creations could serve as the major reason why dealers would shy away from this subject.

In the March 1867 issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics*, A. B. Sage makes the following statement:

“About the year 1858, I first met Mr. Charles Bushnell, a gentleman who had probably done as much as any other in the country to advance the interest of Numismatology.”



This in addition to a study of his 1858 reference on U. S. tokens and medals as well as many other references to Bushnell has convinced me that it is highly improbable that Bushnell would be taken in by the numerous varieties of the Fugio fabrications.

John Adams Bolen makes the following comments in regards to his copies (Pure!) of Colonial coins:

“I spent a great deal of time on them; on one I worked from a genuine coin, on the others from very fine electrotypes. They are all quite scarce now. They were not a financial success to me.”

With the cost factor in mind and it must have been high in the case of the Fugio fabrications, we can be rather certain that whoever went to the trouble of having the restrikes made ended up with very little profit, if any.

Another reason I find the subject of the New Haven restrikes so fascinating concerns the many early references to original dies being destroyed to prevent future restriking which had become a rather sensitive subject in the 1870's and 1880's. In this case, the Scovill firm could have returned the original dies and the 104-FF dies to Rust and still remained in position to strike working dies from the hubs.

Thus on a rather precarious basis, as we lack any detailed information on Rust in respect to his occupation; how he acquired the dies; his collecting interests and what happened to his collection if formed one could speculate on the basis of the Betts story that 104-FF represents the impressions created from the two original dies sent to Waterbury by Rust. Possibly the DD impression from an incomplete hub represents the third die which was discarded by the Scovill die-sinker in his efforts to supply Rust with restrikes of an original Fugio. This would explain Rust's selling the three pattern dies to the New York dealer which are represented by 101, EE and AA. (BB represents an offspring.)

As it is doubtful that the Scovill firm struck the gold specimens, there would be reason to believe that the 101, EE, etc., as well as the original dies were returned to New York.

My failure to find any evidence that the Scovill firm struck gold specimens would suggest that the dies at a later date found their way from New York City to Philadelphia. This would explain the apparent lack of gold specimens in the Bushnell collection (?).

I could go on and on as to why I consider it important to cover this subject in detail. In any event, I have tried to at least give you an idea of why I disagree with your statement in respect to Bushnell – that he may have been “taken” by a fraud.



**In September of 1969 we obtained a few additional pieces to our puzzle.**

In our continuing saga on the Fugio “New Haven” dies and their relationship to Horatio N. Rust, ye editor mentioned in a letter to Bob Lindesmith that the rust marks which appear on the FF reverses of the common Newman 104-FF varieties are different from those found on the Douglas UU and VV dies at A.N.S., so neither UU or VV could be the FF die, and I wondered why, if H. N. Rust made these restrikes, he had not taken better care of his dies? This, of course, raises the question – did Rust strike these common 104-FF's or are these from some later strikings? JCS

With this question in mind, Bob comments —

Your last letter establishes that we have not determined just what represents an original New Haven restrike, which required new research on this point. While I did complete a new outline of my thoughts on the subject, with your previous letter in mind, I had intended to point out that I believed that there is only one type of H. N. Rust medal (A. B. Sage's Numismatic Gallery); I was misled a bit by Woodward's brief description as I was not familiar with the Sage medals at that time. I neglected to point this out prior to the December 1968 issue of *CNL*.

During August I had the chance to examine the Horatio N. Rust medal in Philadelphia. From the elderly appearance – beard, etc. – one would suspect that possibly Haseltine purchased the Rust collection around 1878. I hope to be able to secure a photograph from one of our TAMS members.

I recently acquired a copy of the December 19, 1865 Woodward catalog containing the following two Fugio entries. That these specimens originally came from the Bushnell collection is still indicated by my recent research on the restriking and muling that took place in Waterbury. I still believe that Bushnell was the key figure behind the Fugio "patterns" (with Levick's help) and that the dies (through the help of the Chapmans) finally reached Philadelphia. I also have reason to believe that a study of the fabricated die muled with the obverse and reverse of 102-GG (gold impressions in the Boyd estate) will reveal that they were struck at Philadelphia.

I consider it rather unfortunate that the Chapmans never found a reason to clear up the mystery surrounding their issue, although it is evident that they found it profitable to refrain from making any comments in respect to questionable items that would be of help to future researchers. Also - there is the question of what happened to the manuscript on Colonial Coins compiled by Bushnell. Even if not complete, it must have contained a good deal of worthwhile information.

- Extracts from W. Elliot Woodward's Seventh Semi-Annual Sale — December 19th, 1865 and following days. Selected from the Cabinets of Messrs. Bach, Bertsch, Colburn, Emery, Finotti, Ilesley, Levick, Lilliendahl, Lightbody, McCoy, Semple, Shurtleff, and other collections:

**Lot 1822** Fugio, or Franklin Cent; obv. resembling the usual type; rev. the sun in the centre surrounded by a chain of thirteen links, with a star appearing in the centre of each link. (Newman 103-EE; JCS)

Particular attention is asked to this piece, which is in silver, in fine condition, and believed to be unique; it is guaranteed original and genuine, the present owner having known of its existence in a celebrated collection for many years.

**Lot 1823** Fugio, or Franklin Cent; obv. sun and dial, but without inscription or date; rev. in the centre a depression around which is a ring, inscribed "American Congress," rays radiating from the ring, the whole surrounded by a chain, the links of which bear the names of the thirteen original States. (Newman 101-AA; JCS)

The workmanship of the rev. die of this piece surpasses that on any other of the early coins, being both elaborate and beautiful; the coin itself is in most perfect condition, being entirely uninjured, though taken in circulation many years ago by its former owner; from the same collection as the last one described, and like that guaranteed original and genuine, believed to be unique.

As I said before – I believe both the above pieces were originally from the Bushnell collection. Douglas does not mention any 101-AA varieties in the Bushnell collection. They were possibly

purchased by Brevoort; note Crosby's reference. I find Woodward's comments in the above rather interesting!

In addition—I am now rather certain that Don Taxay was incorrect in his belief that the New Haven restrikes were first struck by the Scovill Manufacturing Co. A belief that would seem to be backed up by the notes contained in the Douglas manuscript. As to why Taxay would reach this conclusion, I might quote a statement by Edgar H. Adams in his article on Benedict & Burnham of Waterbury, Connecticut: "So far as can be ascertained Benedict & Burnham did not issue other than the card which we illustrate (Low 109, 1837 Benedict & Burnham Hard Times Token) in this article, and we are not aware that they issued metallic cards for any other firm." This statement, along with the similarity of their store card issues to those of the Scovill firm, are evidently the major reasons why collectors have tended to disregard the statement made by Lyman H. Low under his listing of Low 109: "Whether they struck many of the Hard Time Tokens in the period under notice is somewhat doubtful, but later a great number of Shop Cards were made by them, except those in brass from 1845 to 1857."

During a recent effort to supply John Ford with a listing of pre-1858 Store Cards or Tokens, I finally ran across the key clue. While the study is not complete, I am convinced that the Waterbury Button Company struck the original New Haven restrikes. This company was formed by the Benedict & Burnham Manufacturing Company in 1849 to take over a branch of business which they considered could better be carried on by itself. From a study of the other joint stock companies formed by the Benedict & Burnham concern—at various times—and a study of the top personnel, one can locate a great deal of evidence which indicates that the Waterbury Button Company struck tokens for various business houses: Hardware, Clock Establishments, Daguerrian Galleries, etc.

In 1852 the Benedict & Scovill Company, a mercantile corporation (one third of the stock owned by the Scovill stockholders) was formed. It possibly served as a distributing outlet for the Scovill firm and for the Benedict & Burnham firm with its various stock companies. This may explain in part why a good number of the store cards struck by the Waterbury Button Company are considered at present to have been struck by the Scovill firm. In fact—the Scovill die-sinker may have cut some of the dies for the Waterbury Button Company as I note a reference which mentions that the Scovill firm supplied other concerns with dies at various times. To complicate matters a number of the Waterbury dies were muled with Scovill dies, which I now believe indicates that the Scovill firm acquired these dies in some way after 1862.

Starting with the 1855 "NOT ONE CENT BUT JUST AS GOOD" variety, it is evident that the Waterbury Button Company was striking items for collectors. This reverse was muled with the Currier & Greeley obverse die of Boston, Mass. Known specimens have a die break over BUT. Later, around 1859 a new reverse die of this popular issue was cut and struck with various store card dies to supply collectors with very rare varieties.

With the above in mind, it is interesting to note the numerous references to rare mules of the Waterbury Button Company group struck for collectors. (Two each in copper and brass). Thus the 1859 restriking which took place in Waterbury (attributed to the Scovill firm) could represent restriking of the Waterbury Button Company dies for Levick and Bushnell—?—. As yet I have found no evidence that Scovill dies were restruck and muled prior to 1862. It is also quite apparent that the Scovill restrikes and mules were struck in larger numbers. That Bushnell had a part in the first restriking, but not the others, would seem to offer a logical answer to the many questions I have in respect to the history of the so-called Bushnell Hard Times Tokens, etc.

The ideas I have outlined above are a few of the reasons why I believe the answer to the New Havens lies outside the Scovill firm. In my own mind, I believe it is first necessary to establish just exactly what constitutes the original New Haven restrikes. I am convinced that the rusted die version (Newman 104-FF) represent the Philadelphia restrikes. In this respect, I am sure that there is a noticeable variation in the metallic composition of the copper flans struck at Waterbury and at Philadelphia. It is also my impression, for a number of reasons, that the Philadelphia restrikes would be common in comparison to the 1860 restrikes. I hope that our patrons will find the above comments of interest. I plan to write a detailed report as soon as I have organized my thoughts on the subject. It certainly has turned out to be a fascinating search! (Ref. 18)

**□□ By this time – December 1969 – we had located the A. G. Sage Numismatic Gallery tokens and photographed them.**

Illustrated on our frontispiece (of the December 1969 issue) is the medallic portrait of Horatio N. Rust whom we have been discussing in these pages during the past year as the probable producer of the Fugio “New Haven Restrikes” and “Patterns.” The medal (or token if you prefer) is number eight in “A. B. Sage’s Numismatic Gallery” produced by Sage and Lovett circa 1860. Also illustrated is number one in this same series – Charles I. Bushnell – who may have been an associate with Rust in the preparation of these specimens. These are two of a group of thirty-one medals and tokens representative of the works of Sage and the Lovetts furnished to us by Mr. Frank Janczuk of Ben Franklin Coins, Philadelphia, Pa. The Rust medal is the same specimen examined by Robert J. Lindesmith and discussed by him in the September 1969 issue of *CNL*.

We do not know for certain if this is THE Horatio N. Rust whom we have been discussing over the past year in these pages, but we will be very surprised if it is not. Since beards were even more in vogue during the mid-1800 era than they are today we probably should not make a judgment that Rust was an older man than Bushnell; however, other facial characteristics certainly lead toward that conclusion. Additional time and research should provide additional pieces for our puzzle. Others of the A. B. Sage series of medals have descriptive literature describing them – so perhaps one of our Patrons can locate the descriptive material for the “Numismatic Gallery” and we can learn more of Mr. Rust’s numismatic interests.

Our sincere thanks to Mr. C. D. Grace for serving as “our man in Philadelphia” in assisting us in obtaining this group of medals and tokens for our examination.

**□□ The two medals of Horatio N. Rust and Charles I. Bushnell were illustrated on the frontispiece of CNL-28 and are not repeated here. The obverse of the Rust medal, however, is shown in Appendix A together with a letter from Raymond H. Williamson.**

**□□ In March 1970, Dave Bowers, then living in Santa Fe Springs, CA, discovered an interesting fact, and wrote:**

As further confirmation (if any further confirmation is needed!) that Horatio N. Rust did indeed exist, I point to the fact that on page 381 of Crosby’s *The Early Coins of America* this selfsame individual is among those in the list of subscribers. His address of Chicago, Illinois conforms with that given by earlier contributors.

☐☐ **Nothing more for two years – then the late Raymond H. Williamson of Lynchburg, VA appeared on the scene in January 1972, four years following the first input to the RF-21 quest.**

#### **A TRACE OF HORATIO**

•• from Raymond H. Williamson

In scanning over the back issues of *CNL* I have worked up quite an interest in Horatio N. Rust – he of the “New Haven” Fugio Restrikes. I hoped he would be pictured (but he was not) in the plate of 48 individual collectors’ photos in *Mason’s Coin Collectors Magazine* between pages 22 and 23 of Vol. 3, 1869; I cannot tell whether the plate was at the end of the February issue or the beginning of the March issue. It included collectors from all over the country, but mainly from the northeastern states. In Mason’s editorial in the March 1869 issue (Volume 3, No. 3, p.32) he offers extra copies at 25 cents each and an enlarged plate at \$2.00 each. He planned a “Coin Collectors Gallery Plate No. 2” but I doubt it was ever issued. He said he was sending copies of the issue containing the small plate to all public libraries and scientific associations free; I wonder if any of the large plates survive? If so, they would sure pep up articles involving collectors of that era.

There was a faint trace of Mr. Rust in a Mason’s Magazine item in the October 1868 issue (my notes are in conflict; they also cite Vol. 2, No. 9, Dec. 1868, p. 86) with reference to collectors at the Randall Sale. “Among those present were the well known collectors, R.C.Davis, William Fewsmith, A.M., Dr. Dickeson, Kline, Wells, Campbell, Ralston, Martin (he of the Post Office), Mahoney, Jenks, Jackson, Petrie (of Hotel renown), Roberts, Jones (the numismatic author), Porter, Alexander, “Moneta”, Moore, Leutze, Snyder (he of the Reading R.R.), and the welcome and inevitable “Cash” (he of the Treasury Dep’t.).”

“Of those represented by Messrs. Cogan, Mason & Kline, we caught the names of Harris, Sanford, Elliott, Ufford, Bailey, Bohea, Stoblien, Duncan, Clark, Phillips, **RUST**, Abbott, Emerson, Payfer, Wilder, Mott, Hennessy, Gschwend, Cook, Barnhard, Marshall, Bates, Oram, Keeney, Dawley, Porter, Converse, Steele, Bollar, Sellers, Williamson, Birch and some half dozen others.”

Sure, it’s just a trace, but I’ll bet Horatio was at the Randall Sale; or more likely, absent and “represented.”



☐☐ **This was the beginning of a two decade research love affair between Williamson and Rust. Ray searched continually and in-depth for information regarding Horatio Nelson Rust, and he located an amazing number of sources. Ray had planned a major paper on Rust for publication in *CNL*, but that was not to be. Declining health problems forced Ray to give up his search and writing, but not before he published, in *The Numismatist*, a short summary letter of his findings regarding Rust. This letter was at the behest of Eric P. Newman and was a reply to an inaccurate published statement regarding Rust. This short article appeared in the May 1986 issue of *The Numismatist* together with a photograph supplied by *CNL*. Ray’s letter is reproduced in full in Appendix A.**

☐☐ **Williamson’s research efforts were not all in vain, however, because before his recent death, recognizing that he would be unable to complete the work, he turned all of his research notes over to ye Editor with a request that he compile and publish in *CNL* a summary of his findings on Rust. Below, following Williamson’s letter from *The Numis-***

*matist*, ye Editor has compiled in Appendix B an "Annotated Time-Line of the Life of Horatio Nelson Rust." This Time-Line is derived from the numerous notes, references, articles, newspaper clippings, including even the probate papers of Rust's estate, which Williamson had uncovered; additional findings since Williamson's death are included. These sources are referenced in the footnotes.

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□□ Now – Back to our CNL saga of RF-21. Six years later – in May 1976 – another trace, this one from John M. Sallay of Cambridge, MA:

## THE FIRST CENT.

### Major Rust Tells of a Historic Copper in His Possession.

April 21st, 1787, congress directed that the board of treasury "be authorized to contract for three hundred tons of copper coin of the Federal standard agreeable to the proposition of Mr. James Jarvis.

July 6th, 1787, on the report of a committee it was

"Resolved, That the board of treasury direct the contractor for the copper coinage to stamp on one side of each piece the following, viz.: Thirteen circles linked together. A small circle in the middle with the words United States round it; and in the center the words, we are one. On the other side of the same piece the following device, viz.: A dial, with the hours expressed on the face of it. A meridian sun above, on one side of which is to be the word 'Fugio' and on the other side the year in figures, 1787; below the dial the words, 'Mind Your Business.'"

A large number of these coins were issued and have been generally known as the Ring or Franklin cent. Fifty years ago they were common in circulation. The first coins were struck in New York City and later in New

spend one day in New Haven in trying to learn something of this coinage and if possible find the dies. Arriving from New York in the morning, I visited the newspaper offices, first inquiring for any information concerning the coinage. I spent the day in a vain search for information. At evening I find myself in the eastern part of New Haven with a coin collector who in answer to my enquiry, said: "I had never thought of this before but Broom & Platt, general jobbers in hardware, had a contract for a part of that coinage and the strong box and other effects belonging to that house are in a hardware store on Chappel street." Also told that while Broom & Platt were doing the coinage that, they being insolvent, they were liable to arrest if they passed off their hands.

I immediately visited the store and found a pair of the dies used as paper weights on the cashier's desk. I found they had two pairs and one odd die. I was told that the other die had been loaned to a man in Bridgeport and never returned. I purchased the dies, took them to Waterbury, Conn., and struck several hundred for cabinet specimens. I had one struck in gold and several in silver and for many years used them as exchanges in collecting coins.

I printed an account of finding the dies on a slip, which I gave with each restrike, that all might know what they were. After coming to California I sold the dies to a coin collector in Philadelphia.

Recently I noticed in an eastern paper that a Ring cent in gold had been found. Probably it is the one I struck in 1880.

H. N. RUST.

Reproduction of the newspaper article discovered by John M. Sallay.

**ANOTHER TRACE of H . N . RUST**

I recently purchased a copy of *Evan's Illustrated History of the United States Mint* (the 1886 edition) at a small coin shop in Worcester, Mass. and found some newspaper clippings of the period pasted on the first few pages. All of them were interesting, but one – in particular – dealt with the New Haven “Fugio” Restrikes and Horatio N. Rust who has been mentioned from time to time in *CNL*. I have no way of knowing the exact date of the article or where it was published, but my guess is in the mid-1880's in the Boston area. A few other clippings pasted in the book are from the *Boston Journal* of April 14, 1879 and *The New England Grocer* of a late December issue, 1882 .

I cannot say whether the material contained within this clipping adds any new information to the history of Horatio N. Rust, but perhaps our Patrons will find it of interest.

• Editor's note: This article appears to be a first hand account written by H . N. Rust (now credited with the rank of Major) of his “discovery” of Fugio Dies at the old Broom & Platt store in New Haven, Connecticut. Toward the end of the article are two comments that lead ye Editor to think that the clipping may have been from a west coast (California) newspaper. “. . .After coming to California I sold the dies to a coin collector in Philadelphia . . . .” and “. . . Recently I noticed in an eastern paper...” .

There have been numerous references and articles in *CNL* since the original publication of RF-21 “Who was H.N.Rust?” and we hope that someday enough such Traces of Horatio will come to light to permit an accurate reconstruction of his association with the “New Haven Restrikes” of the Fugio Cents of 1787. JCS

**□ □ So – sometime in the mid to late 1880's, Major Horatio Nelson Rust seems to be somewhere on the West Coast, possibly in California. In October of 1976 we received inputs from both Eric P. Newman and Walter H. Breen, as follow:**

**RESEARCH EFFORTS on H. N. RUST**

• • from Eric P. Newman; St. Louis, Missouri

The newspaper clipping THE FIRST CENT submitted by John Sallay (*CNL*, p. 549) and the editorial comments are sensationally interesting. Are you organizing any search for the date and source or is anyone else?

The City Directory for Frisk might help. The Army records might help. The type style in the newspaper might be recognized immediately by a California historian. Rust had to be extremely well known to the public as “Major” even though he was probably retired. His Army career probably took him all over the United States as *CNL* excerpts show.

The sixth Fugio die is probably the Mattatuck Historical Society die. (*CNL*, p. 242, figure A) The article seems to show there were not parts of a die (as in the *American Journal of Numismatics* account) but full dies. And – where is a copy of the slip that Rust gave with each restrike?

Editor's Note: Ye Editor hopes that Mr. Newman's enthusiasm will prove contagious to some of our West Coast Patrons. There are a half-dozen or so of our Patrons who have expressed a continuing interest in H. N. Rust and these new clues provided by John Sallay's clipping indicate several new avenues for investigation. Unfortunately – the time consuming tasks associated with the publication of *CNL* effectively preclude any active participation by ye Editor in such searches.

So – it is up to our Patrons to follow-up on Mr. Newman's suggestions and to share their findings through the pages of *CNL*.

☐☐ And, as we have mentioned, Ray Williamson took up the challenge.

#### **MORE on H. N. RUST Research**

•• from Walter H. Breen; Berkeley, California

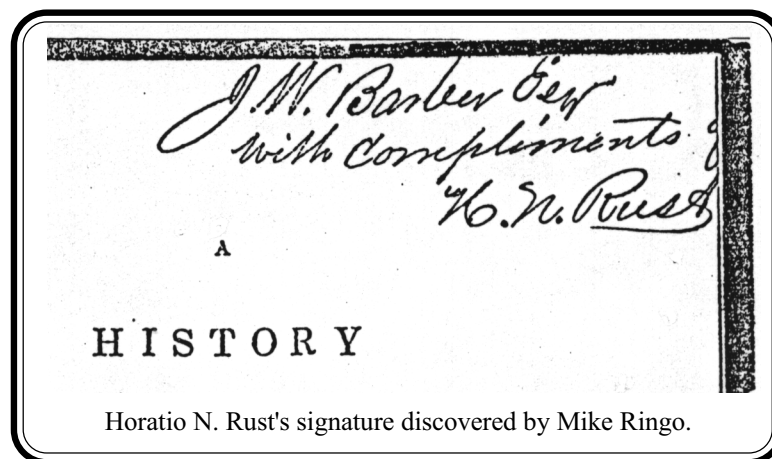
Major Horatio N. Rust spoke, in that historic newspaper clipping, (*CNL*, p. 549) of “a New Haven coin collector” who told him about the Broome & Platt firm. This may account for the early claims that C. Wyllys Betts “found” the New Haven dies, if Betts (then at Yale) is the collector Rust was alluding to. However, I suspect that the story is quite other than the way Rust described it, because of the workmanship of these dies. In particular, I suspect that Rust had the dies made in Waterbury, at Scovill's, three pairs in all, one used for silver (and gold?), another for the copper and brass impressions, and that the rest of the story is a screen.

#### **Another Note on Horatio N. Rust**

•• from Mike Ringo; Albany, NY (Nov. 1987)

The following is a photocopy of an interesting handwritten presentation note which I located inside of the New York State Library's copy of Noah Phelps' work on the copper mines at Grandby, Connecticut. [*A History of the Copper Mines and Newgate Prison, at Grandby, Conn.*; Hartford: Press of Case, Tiffany & Burnham, 1845.] I have not been able to determine if J. W. Barber is the William Barber of the U. S. Mint, or if Rust ever lived in the Hartford area, but it would seem likely if he had anything to do with the Fugio (“New Haven”) restrikes. Perhaps you or a reader can shed more light on the subject.

Editor's note: This certainly is the signature of ol' Horatio! I have forwarded a copy of the page to Raymond H. Williamson in Lynchburg, VA who continues to work on the history of Rust.



☐☐ This was the last trace of Horatio to be published in *CNL*. JCS

☐☐ This concludes the summary of RF-21 material that has appeared in *CNL* to date, but the story continues below in Appendix A; An Annotated Time-Line of Rust's life, prepared by ye Editor from Ray Williamson's research notes, is presented in Appendix B.



## APPENDIX A

□□ Some fourteen years after his first contact with the H. N. Rust discussions in *CNL*, Ray Williamson, at the insistence of Eric P. Newman, wrote the following letter to *The Numismatist*:

**H.N. Rust a Reality**

from *THE NUMISMATIST*, September 1986, Pages 1787-1788

Reprinted courtesy of *THE NUMISMATIST*, official publication of the American Numismatic Society, 818 North Cascade Avenue, Colorado Springs, CO 80903-3279, [www.money.org](http://www.money.org)

I enjoyed Tom Stone's interesting story, "On the Scent of a Fugio Cent" (May 1986), especially his discussion of the New Haven restrikes, the earliest of which were made around 1860. I heartily concur with Stone's contention that "the history of the New Haven restrikes is an intriguing one. It is crowded with claims and counterclaims concerning the actual discovery of the dies." The author further comments: "The mystery shrouding Horatio N. Rust is deeper than that of the dies themselves. One expert suggests it was a pseudonym but that a real person, an active numismatist, was responsible for the rare gold and silver Fugio cents that exist." This expert is, of course, Don Taxay, who commented thus in his article "The Fugio Cents" in *Coins* magazine (October 1968): "So I think we can assume that H. N. Rust . . . is a pseudonym . . . [his] real identity remains unknown." However, for nearly a decade, Jim Spilman's *The Colonial Newsletter* has intermittently shared bits of history and speculation sent by contributors regarding the New Haven restrikes, and also has disclosed the actuality of a man named Horatio Nelson Rust, numismatist. Surely, by now Don Taxay must be convinced of H. N. Rust's reality, but for the record I'd like to review some of the evidence.



A medal picturing the whiskered Horatio N. Rust is part of a series released by August B. Sage under the title A. B. Sage's Numismatic Gallery. (Shown 2X actual size.) Photo source: The Colonial Newsletter Foundation

A photograph of a heavily-bearded face, similar to Rust's physiognomy that appeared ca. 1860 on a medal by August B. Sage, occupies the full-page frontispiece of *Record of the Rust Family*, a genealogy compiled by Albert D. Rust in 1891. More recently published are three more pictures of Rust in the excellent article "Horatio Nelson Rust: Abolitionist, Archaeologist, Indian Agent" by Jane Apostol in *California History* (Winter 1979-80). He was born in 1828 in Amherst, Massachusetts, and spent his early life in or near Collinsville, Connecticut. He married near there in 1851 and in 1873 moved his family to Chicago, later relocating in South Pasadena, California, where he died in 1906. As a numismatist, Rust participated in the October 1868 sale of the J. Colvin Randall collection in New York City, and was a charter subscriber to S. S. Crosby's great book *The Early Coins of America*. While he lived in Chicago, he wrote several numismatic articles for the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*. In fact, the undated newspaper clipping quoted by Tom Stone is from the July 19, 1898, issue of Rust's

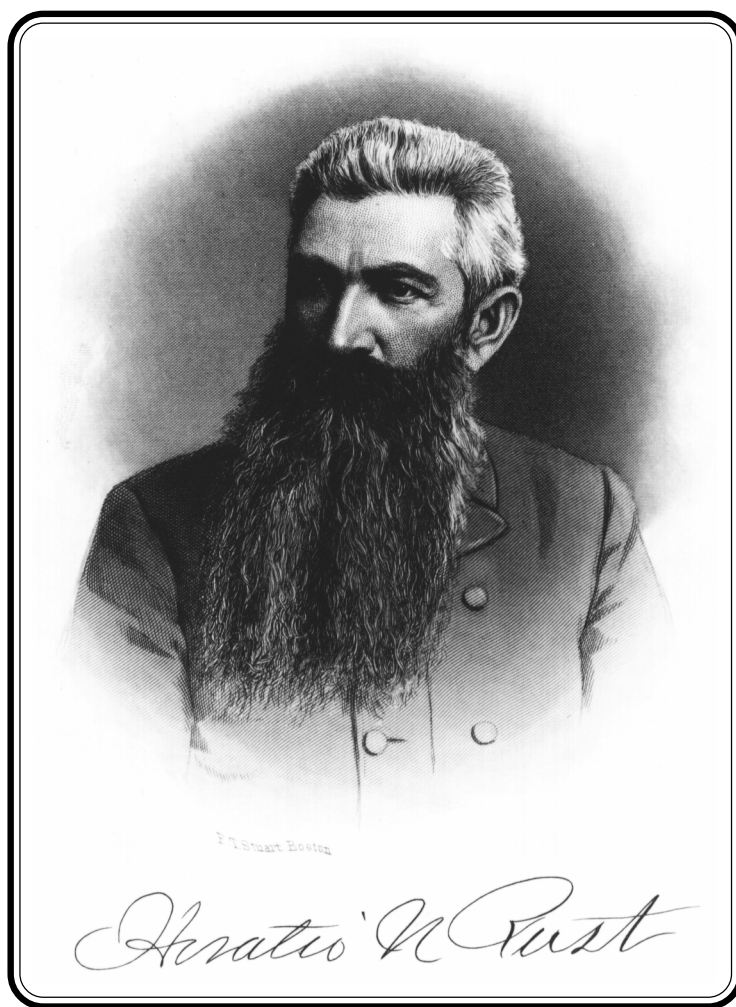
hometown newspaper, the *Pasadena Daily News*. It is regrettable that we don't know much about his numismatic activities. For example, no copy has surfaced of the advertising circular distributed by Rust illustrating every specimen of his New Haven restrikes. Does anyone out there have a sample of his circular?

Raymond H. Williamson, ANA 9482  
933 Rothowood Road, Lynchburg, VA 24503

□□ Today we are still searching for an original of Rust's printed circular describing his "Fugio Restrikes." Additionally, we do not know exactly what happened to the Rust coin collection (but we speculate that it went to the Notre Dame Library collection); however – we DO know for certain where his extensive collections of American Indian artifacts are located. His major collection of over 3000 artifacts forms the basis of the Logan Museum of Anthropology at Beloit College in Beloit, Wisconsin. Others are included in the Smithsonian Institution collections. And – a puzzle remains regarding the actual circumstances of the discovery of the Fugio dies used by Rust as well as his true military status. These questions are addressed in Appendix B. JCS

**APPENDIX B**

**An Annotated Time-Line  
of the  
Life of Horatio Nelson Rust**



**Horatio Nelson Rust**

This photograph of Rust is reproduced from the frontispiece of the book *Record of the Rust Family* located in the U. S. Library of Congress. The photograph was obtained for us by CNL Patron Barry D. Tayman (in 1980) to whom we owe our sincere thanks for his efforts in locating the volume and obtaining the reproduction of the frontispiece.

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### Annotated Time-Line

**11 May 1828**     **Date of Birth of Horatio Nelson Rust.** Born in Amhurst Massachusetts (Ref. 1 & 4). Son of Nelson Rust, a blacksmith and edged tool maker and one of the earliest and leading abolitionists. His mother was Elizabeth Clapp Rust. Horatio was the eldest of five children.

A childhood gift of a prehistoric stone axe inspired a lifelong interest in American Indian artifacts; a visit with his father to the prisoners of the slave ship *Amistad* inalterably convinced him of the horrors of slavery. (Ref. 2)

Rust's education was received in the public schools of his county and at Amherst academy; but like many others of his time he was obliged to turn from his studies and take up the sterner duties of life, and at an early age began his business career in the Collinsville Connecticut axe works with which his father was associated. He stayed at the axe works for two years (Ref. 4) then took up the study of medicine, and later operated the Collinsville drug store.

**ca.1846-64**     **Rust became associated with business firms** in New York City and East Hampton and for eighteen years traveled in their interests.

**3 Sep 1851**     **Married Fidelia Humphrey**, (first wife) in Canton Center, Connecticut. (Ref.1)

**ca. 1858**     **Rust reportedly discovered original Fugio dies** and had specimens, known today as the "New Havens," struck from new dies probably replicated from those located by Rust. (Ref. 7, 15 & 16). The often quoted story from his obituary that the dies were discovered by C. Wyllys Betts and sold to Horatio N. Rust is in error. The obituary notice of Betts states that the dies were sold to a Mr. Root, NOT Rust! In 1872 an article quoting Rust indicates that "he found a single die at Bridgeport, Conn. In 1858; afterwards he obtained the remaining five parts of the dies in the store formerly occupied by Broom & Platt, in New Haven." (Ref.16) According to Rust's account, he (Rust) discovered all six of the dies (but not necessarily three *pairs* of dies).

It is highly probable that the Waterbury Button Company *struck* the "New Haven" Fugios from Rust's replicated dies manufactured in Waterbury by the Benedict & Scovill Company. In later years some these same dies (104-FF types) were used by others. (Ref.17) It is uncertain how many dies Rust had replicated or how many similar dies Bushnell may have had manufactured and struck. Our best guess is that Rust had 4 or 5 pairs of 104-FF type dies sunk from the same master hub.

**1864**     **At the breakout of the Civil War** Rust probably joined the Union Medical Corps in the field before Antietam, his service including transporting wounded men from the field to their homes and in this line saw service at City Point and before Petersburg. His home served as a station in the underground railroad, and rabid abolitionist John Brown was the "Patron Saint" in his home. (Ref.1)

Searches of Civil War military records fail to identify Rust as a member of the Union military forces. Williamson speculated that Rust had volunteered as a civilian medical associate, or perhaps served as a medical sutler. There was no

doubt, however, in the mind of Elizabeth Graham who filed his genealogical record (Ref. 1), or that of Albert Rust (Ref. 4) that Rust officially served as a member of the Union forces. Albert Rust specifically credits him with serving with Surgeon Warner of the 16th Connecticut Regiment. Somewhere along the line he picked up the title of Major.

A photocopy copy of the Horatio N. Rust section of the "Record of the Rust Family" (Ref. 4) includes the photograph of Rust as shown above. In the upper left corner are the remains of a newspaper clipping, now torn away, but a portion of a small headline can still be read which states "Rust is well known war ve[teran]."

**late 1871**      **After the great Chicago fire of 1871** Rust and his family moved to Chicago.

**ca. 1872-82**      **Rust lived and worked in Chicago** for some ten years. His address "Rush and Kinsey" streets. In 1874 Rust published at least three lengthy "letters to the editor" of the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* newspaper on numismatic subjects (Ref. 10) as well as other articles.

He was a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) 1877-1896 and read a paper at their 26th meeting (in 1877) on Missouri Mound Builders.

For many years Rust conducted the Central Ware-House in Chicago. (Ref. 4 & 5) During his residence in Chicago, the exodus into Kansas began (the Exoduster Movement); the sufferings of this unfortunate people at once enlisted his sympathy, and he was for many months a worker in and the honored secretary of the Chicago Relief Association. While still living in Chicago, Rust made an extensive exploration trip to Mexico and enriched his archaeological cabinet with some valuable finds.

**1882**      **During the year 1882 Rust moved by railroad to California** with his family in an "immigrant" unfurnished sleeper on the end of a freight train. The trip from Chicago to Los Angeles, and thence to Pasadena, required more than 10 days. (Ref. 1) In Pasadena he became a nurseryman and began the culture of oranges; a business continued after his death by his son Edward H. Rust.

**1886**      **Because of his interest in California citrus fruit**, he organized, promoted and served as manager of the first Citrus Fair at Battery D in Chicago. (Ref. 5)

**1887**      **In 1887 the University of Notre Dame** received an anonymous numismatic donation consisting of some 3200 specimens of counterfeit British and related North American coppers and tokens, a few British coins and some Spanish silver. A second collection of 1100 American Tokens may have been included in this quantity. The quantity and dates are such that it is highly probable, and equally speculative, that this donation was the numismatic collection of Horatio N. Rust. (Ref. 12) Ray Williamson's search for other large numismatic donations or sales within that time period did not locate anything that might have been Rust's numismatic collection.

- 1889**      **Rust was appointed and served for four years as Indian Agent** for Southern California. (Ref. 1) He served as agent for the Indians of the Mission – Tule River Consolidated Agency and his jurisdiction extended from the Hoopa Valley in Northern California to the Mexican border and included twenty-two reservations. (Ref. 4)
- 1893**      **At the 1893 World's Columbia Exposition in Chicago** he arranged an exhibit of John Brown memorabilia, and won an award for his collection of American Indian artifacts. This collection "... the finest of its kind in existence ..." was purchased by Chicago businessman Frank G. Logan and presented to Beloit College in Wisconsin where today it is the cornerstone collection of the Logan Museum Of Anthropology. (Ref. 8)
- 1895**      **Rust trekked to Arizona** with well known California photographer A.C.Vroman and others to witness the renowned Hopi Snake Dance at Walpi. They carried 1500 pounds of camping and photographic equipment. A photograph by Vroman of Rust and his trekkers appears on page 304 of Reference 4. A number of other photographs of Rust, all showing his great beard, also appear in Reference 4. See Reference 9 for a short history of Vroman.
- 24 Jan 1899**      **Date of death of Rust's first wife**, Fidelia, in South Pasadena, CA.
- 1900**      **Within a year Rust married Hattie S. Elliott** (second wife) who had been his housekeeper for many years. This created a bit of a family scandal. Hattie lived to the age of 101 years and died in 1947. (Ref. 6) "I can remember her as a senile little witch-like woman when I was a child ." (Ref. 3)
- 1900 & 1902**      **In these two years Rust sold two Indian artifact collections** to the U. S. National Museum: ( Ref. 13)  
                          Accession 37098, catalog numbers 207576-685. 136 specimens from the Mission Indians of Southern California. October 5, 1900.  
                          Accession 40049, catalog numbers 219276-349. 74 specimens, almost entirely baskets. October 17, 1902.
- 14 Nov.1906**      **Date of death of Horatio N. Rust** at South Pasadena, California. (Ref. 1, 6 & 11).
- 1 April 1947**      **Date of death of Hattie Rust** (second wife). During her very long life of one hundred one years she outlived her husband Horatio by forty one years, her last six years in a sanitarium at Monterey, CA. At her death the family fortune had been exhausted, "less than \$2,000.00" remaining of the original estate. (Ref. 6).

☐☐ **So -Yes! There really was a Horatio Nelson Rust!** ☐☐

In a letter written in 1981 (Ref.14) Ray Williamson characterized Rust as follows:

- Innovative
- Persuasive
- Highly-motivated salesman
- Appreciative of recognition
- Sensitive to the needs of the less fortunate
- Often a promoter
- A classificationist
- A preservationist
- Generally disciplined
- Seldom shy
- Sometimes secretive
- Sometimes stubborn
- Gregarious

**References, notes and comments:**

(1) Genealogical Record of a California Resident. Daughters of the American Revolution, California State Society, Records of the Families of California Pioneers. (Horatio Nelson Rust) Vol. 14, page 223-26, Received Feb. 1932, filed by Elizabeth Rust Graham.

(2) Apostol, Jane. "HORATIO NELSON RUST abolitionist, archaeologist, Indian agent." *California History - The Magazine of the California Historical Society*. Winter 1979/80, pages 304-15. Jane Apostol was a docent at the Huntington Library, Huntington, CA, which houses a large collection (1229 items) of papers of Horatio Nelson Rust. The only items of a numismatic nature in this collection are two numismatic books, one a copy of "Crosby" and several personal letters to Rust from Crosby, Noe, and others. Additional research of these items might reveal some further numismatic facts regarding Rust, especially the 45 diaries and two scrapbooks contained in the collection. A preliminary search for Ray Williamson of these papers revealed very little of numismatic consequence; for the most part these documents deal with Rust's activities after his arrival in California.

(3) Personal letter. May 20 1981. Mrs. George A. Feigen to Raymond H. Williamson. Mrs. Feigen is a Rust family member from Palo Alto, CA .

(4) Rust, Albert D. *Record of the Rust Family* (1891, Privately Printed). A photocopy of the Horatio Nelson Rust section of this book was furnished by Mrs. Lourene R. Deere of Pana, Illinois.

(5) Guinn, James Miller. *Historical and Biographical Record of Los Angeles and Vicinity* (1901, pp 775-76)

(6) Probate Papers, Estate of Horatio N. Rust, Superior Court of the County of Los Angeles, State of California. File No. 10581

(7) Spilman, J.C. *The Colonial Newsletter* (CNL-24) Vol. 7. No.4, December 1968. "Comments on the Fugio Cents of 1787: The New Haven Restrikes"

(8) The History of the Logan Museum:

The Logan Museum of Anthropology at Beloit College was founded with Dr. Frank G. Logan's gift of North American materials collected by Horatio N. Rust, a California Native American agent, and exhibited at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. The major gift of nearly 3,000 artifacts was added to the College's earlier museum or "scientific cabinet" collection of natural history specimens. Subsequent gifts, purchases, and worldwide research have added significantly to the holdings of the museum.

The Logan Museum is housed in Memorial Hall, built in 1869 with the support of the local community to honor those from the City and College who gave their lives fighting in the Civil War. Two marble plaques list their names. Formerly, the natural history and "cabinet collection" and the College library were located there, and for a short time, the College's music department. An extensive \$4 million renovation completed in 1995 provides new facilities for collections maintenance, conservation, and exhibition. The striking centerpiece in the project is a central glass cubicle, also known as the Andrew H. Whiteford Curatorial Center, through which visitors can view some of the thousands of objects in the collection, as well as seeing professors and students perform the actual work of the museum.

(9) The Arroyo Craftsman Guild of Southern California from *Inventing the Dream* by Kenneth Starr; Oxford University Press, 1985.

#### Excerpts from Part II

With one exception – George Wharton James's short-lived Arroyo Craftsman Guild – Arroyo Culture was not so much an organized movement as it was a shared lifestyle signifying a related variety of local values. For South Pasadena nurseryman **Horatio Nelson Rust**, for instance, the style involved a passionate interest in Indian antiquities. A native of Amherst, Massachusetts, who migrated to Chicago after the Civil War, in which he served as a volunteer medical corpsman, Rust was a lifelong antiquarian and amateur archaeologist. Coming to South Pasadena in the early 1880s and setting himself up as a wholesale nurseryman, Rust devoted himself to the problem of Indian welfare and the collection of Indian artifacts. (His detractors said he cared more about Indian antiquities than he did about Indians.) Rust played the Yankee to the hilt. He let it slip around town that he had ridden with John Brown in Kansas during the 1850s. He grew a great beard, which made him resemble his mentor, and took an abolitionist-like posture toward the Mission Indians. In the early 1890s he served as United States Indian Agent for the Mission Consolidated Agency.

Rust's friend Adam Clark Vroman ran a bookstore and Kodak agency in Pasadena. An employee of the Burlington Railroad, Vroman came to Southern California in a vain effort to cure his wife's tuberculosis. Widowed, he stayed on, advancing the Arroyo sensibility through photography. He photographed the Arroyo itself in 1900, his camera picking up every detail of its tangled lower reaches. Vroman's photographic essays present to us the world as envisioned through the selective eye of the Arroyo Culture: a Hopi mother nurses her child in an Arizona pueblo, stark and simple and vital with classical dignity; the Very Reverend Father O'Keefe stands in the inner courtyard of Mission San Juan Capistrano sometime in the year 1900, rotund and serene in his friar's robes, his eyes wise with remembrances of things past; boats lie at anchor in Avalon Harbor, Catalina Island, 1895, suggestive of Capri in its curve and bluest of blue water; the Old Mill in Pasadena; the bells of Mission San Gabriel; the forming up of the Pickwick Club for the Tournament of Roses parade of 1900, the men in Dickensian attire, a flower-draped wagon of white-gowned girls in the background.

Source: <http://www.friendcalib.org/lit-landmarks/pasadena/star2-2.html>

See also: <http://www.cmp.ucr.edu/site/exhibitions/vroman>

(10) Newspaper clippings from the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* in the 1870's and possibly later . We know the by-line dates, but need publication dates:

| Chicago<br>By-line Date | Title                    | Signed    |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| Feb. 2, 1874            | Ancient Currency         | H. N. R . |
| Feb. 21 1874            | Ancient Colonial Coins   | H. N. R.  |
| April 15, 1874          | Money of Our Forefathers | H. N. R.  |



(11) Rust's death did not go unnoticed in New York City. His obituary the **following day** in the New York Times – November 15, 1906 reads:

Major HORATIO NELSON RUST, a noted archaeologist and Indian authority, a philanthropist, a friend of John Brown, and a veteran of the civil war, died in his home in South Pasadena, Cal. yesterday. Major Rust was a son of Nelson Rust, the Connecticut Abolitionist, and was 78 years old.

(12) The only record regarding these 3200 specimens is from a weekly Notre Dame publication called "The Notre Dame Scholastic" Vol. 21, No. 3, page 45, and dated September 24, 1887. It states "About three thousand two hundred copper, silver and gold coins and medals, from all parts of the world, and representing the centuries from the birth of Christ to the present, have lately been added to the numismatic collection. Many of the medals are very rare, and would be difficult to duplicate." (E-mail : 25 November 1998: Louis Jordan to J.C.Spilman).

(13) Smithsonian Institution letter dated November 2, 1966; William C. Sturtevant to Mrs. George A. Feigen.

(14) Personal letter of August 22, 1981; Raymond H. Williamson to Mrs. George A. Feigen.

(15) *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. XXII, July 1887. Page 22. Obituary – Charles Wyllys Betts. The obituary states, in part - -

"... It was on one of these expeditions that he discovered what are now known as the New Haven dies of the Fugio Cents, which from the best evidence were unknown to numismatists up to that time, and had never been used; \$10 was asked for them. He informed Mr. Root of New York of their existence, and that gentlemen bought them; they are now the property of Mr. J. Colvin Randall of Philadelphia. . . ."

(16) *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. VII, July 1872 – July 1873, page 72. This very important short comment that appeared in the *AJN* is quoted here in its entirety:

"Mind Your Business;" Ring or Franklin Cent (vol. vi. P. 100). The first owners of the dies of this cent, as far as we can learn, were Broom & Platt, hardware dealers, of New Haven, Conn. There were three sets of dies; our informant, Mr. H. N. Rust, tells us that he found a single die at Bridgeport, Conn., in 1858; afterwards he obtained the remaining five parts of the dies in the store formerly occupied by Broom & Platt, in New Haven.

Mr. Rust sold three of the dies to a dealer in New York City, but who did not succeed in obtaining good impressions from them. Mr. R. had some three or four hundred pieces struck at Waterbury, Conn., in a metal composed of copper and nickel, also a few in silver, and only one in gold.

(17) The "New Haven" dies of which there are a number of pairs of the 104-FF type plus the other varieties (See CNL-24 pp. 237-242) have been reported in various collections and in the hands of various people over time. There is little doubt that people other than Rust had their try at striking using some of the dies concocted by Rust. In his manuscript James Jarvis and the Fugio Coppers at ANS, Damon G. Douglas in note 257A outlines the known locations at various times of the "New Haven" dies, as follow:

1882 "Dies now in the possession of Major (Charles Porter) Nichols, (Springfield, Mass.)  
H.P.Smith

- 1883 "Dies now owned in Philadelphia".  
1885 "Dies now owned by Randall" H.P.Smith  
1886 "The New Haven dies now in my possession" W. Elliott Woodward  
1887 "Dies now the property of J.C.Randall"  
1894 The Accession book of the American Numismatic Society records "January 13, 1894, 2 pcs. Obv. & Rev. dies of the so called New Haven Fugio Cent from Scott's Stamp and Coin Co., Ltd." AND  
1895 "March 18, 1895 1 pc. coin die of Fugio 1787 cent. Reverse. (Douglas designated these three ANS dies as 96, VV and UU)  
1900 Nov. 16-17, 1900 Maris sale by S. H. & H. Chapman, lot 628 was "The steel die for the obverse or sundial side of the "New Haven die" Unique.  
1944 The Yale University obverse was the gift of Mr. F. C. C. Boyd who acquired it circa 1937 from the late James MacAllester who stated that he had purchased it from an unnamed Philadelphia estate as part of the contents of a bank safe deposit box.

(18) We shall probably never know what Bob's conclusions may have been. He died in July 1999, just about the time that we were pulling together all the bits and pieces of Ray Williamson's research notes for inclusion in this paper.

The following comments by Russell Rulau are extracted, in part, from "A Salute to a Great Numismatist: Robert Lindesmith" that appeared in the Bowers & Merena November 11-13, 1999 sale catalog of the "Lindesmith & LaRiviere Collections." Reprinted with permission.

"The name of Robert Lindesmith is familiar to anyone who has a set of the *Token and Medal Society Journal*, *The Numismatist* or *The Colonial Newsletter*. Bob was often "The Answer Man" when it came to tracking down obscure bits of information. A numismatic scholar *par excellence*, he drew upon his reference library and his own vast collection for information, this in addition to outreach with other specialists.

Bob Lindesmith returned to his Creator in July 1999. He was one of those truly great numismatists who used to be called "general collectors," that is, collectors of everything numismatic. He amassed a huge collection of coins, medals, tokens, paper money and numismatic books over the 53 years that he devoted to his beloved hobby.

He was also one of the quiet experts, a man few would ever see at a coin show or visiting a coin shop. He sought no fame for himself, yet he built an enviable record as a researcher because he wanted to know everything about every piece he obtained. His name will live in posterity primarily through his well documented articles on exnumia, a field to which he made memorable contributions."

### Special Thanks

**It would be a serious omission if I were to fail to mention the personal thanks that Ray Williamson would certainly have given had he had the opportunity to prepare this paper himself. Those thanks go to Ms. Connie Moffett, then a member of the auction department of Bowers and Ruddy Galleries, Inc. of Los Angeles, CA who during the 1981 to 1984 time period was of inestimable assistance to Ray in searching through the Rust papers at the Huntington Library in California. JCS**

**Related bibliographic items not specifically referenced in the text:****Miscellaneous**

Obituary notice, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 8, pp. 737-38 (1906).

Remarks about arrival in California, from *History of Pasadena*, by H. Reid (1895).

Bowers, Q. David, *American Numismatics Before the Civil War, 1760-1860; Emphasizing the story of Augustus B. Sage*. Wolfeboro, New Hampshire (1998).

**Publications of Horatio N. Rust in the Bancroft Library - Berkeley, CA.**

Courtesy of Mrs. George Feigen, Palo Alto, CA.

"The Desert Sea," *The Californian*, vol. 1, pp. 94-103 (1891).

"The Moqui Snake Dance," *Land of Sunshine*, vol. 4, pp. 70-76 (1896).

"Tom, the Arrow-Maker," *Land of Sunshine*, vol. 8, pp. 13-15 (1897).

"A Fiesta at Warner's Ranch," *Land of Sunshine*, vol. 10, pp. 230-39 (1899).

"The Surprise Springs Meteorite," *Land of Sunshine*, vol. 14, pp. 11-13 (1901).

"Rogerio's Theological School," *Out West*, vol. 21, pp. 243-48 (1904).

"A Puberty Ceremony of the Mission Indians," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 8, pp. 28-31 (1906).

"A Cache of Stone Bowls in California," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 8, pp. 686-87 (1906).



### More on the Circulation of English and Irish Coppers Small Change Coppers found in Southern New Jersey

- ● The following is a letter from *CNL* patron Todd Gredesky

This letter is in response to your article in *CNL* on "The Circulation of Irish Coinage in Pre-Federal America." (*CNL*, pp. 1899-1917) Enclosed is a list of a small hoard of coins (43) that were purchased from an older metal detector enthusiast. The coins grade from being worn smooth to AG. Most are corroded, bent, and encrusted to varying degrees. These coin were all found in Southern New Jersey, mainly in Gloucester and Salem counties. Included in this find was a Hibernia Farthing dated 172?, the last digit cannot be read. Also I have seen at least three Hibernia halfpennies found with metal detectors in the same region indicative of a general circulation of Wood's coppers in that area of the state.

#### Coppers Recovered in Gloucester and Salem Counties, NJ

| GREAT BRITAIN |                                                                                                           |                                        |
|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Quantity      | Description                                                                                               | Date                                   |
| 1             | William & Mary halfpenny                                                                                  | 1694                                   |
| 1             | William III halfpenny - type 3                                                                            | c. 1699-1701                           |
| 1             | George I halfpenny                                                                                        | 172X                                   |
| 5             | George II halfpennies; two young heads<br>three old heads<br>a. One is a Georgius<br>b. One is dated 1750 | 1729-1739<br>1740-1754<br>c. 1740-1745 |
| 3             | George III halfpennies - lightweight counterfeits<br>a. One with c/s "M" letter punch                     | c. 1770-1775                           |
| 2             | George III cartwheel twopence                                                                             | 1797                                   |
| 3             | George III halfpennies (3rd issue)<br>a. One is holed twice with a third attempt                          | 1799                                   |
| 7             | George III halfpennies (4th issue)<br>a. One 1806 is holed<br>b. Another holed - ? date                   | 1806-1807                              |
| 8             | Unidentifiable halfpenny size coins<br>a. Six are earlier Great Britain issues                            |                                        |
| 1             | Charles II farthing                                                                                       | c. 1672-1679                           |
| 1             | William III farthing                                                                                      | c. 1695-1700                           |
| 1             | George II farthing                                                                                        | c. 1730-1754                           |
| 2             | Unidentifiable farthing size coins                                                                        |                                        |

| IRELAND  |                                                                  |              |
|----------|------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Quantity | Description                                                      | Date         |
| 1        | Bust right halfpenny                                             | c. 17XX      |
| 1        | George III halfpenny type 1 or 2<br>a. Obverse hand engraved "E" | 1766 or 1769 |
| 2        | George III halfpennies                                           | c. 1805      |
| 1        | Wood's Hibernia farthing, holed                                  | c. 172X      |
| SWEDEN   |                                                                  |              |
| Quantity | Description                                                      | Date         |
| 1        | ½ skilling                                                       | c. 1802-1809 |
| FRANCE   |                                                                  |              |
| Quantity | Description                                                      | Date         |
| 1        | Unidentifiable farthing size coin                                |              |

## Editorial Comment:

From collateral evidence, it is known that all the pre-1790 coppers on Todd's list circulated widely in this country and his inventory of the coppers recovered from the ground in southern New Jersey it is not at all surprising. Their corroded condition pretty well excludes any recent deposit and as indicated by their extensive wear, some of these coppers probably saw a long period of service, even well into the following century. It is interesting to note that all the identifiable George III halfpence, from 1770-1775, are counterfeit. This supports the observation made from other areas of the country that counterfeit halfpence of this era far out numbered legitimate coppers and the recovery of any 1st issue George III regal copper is a most unusual event. While the 14 coppers dated in the early 1800s may have come over as personal property with the continuing flow of immigrants, it should also be recalled that other small change shortages occurred in the early 19th century, especially 1815-1817, when English coppers were once again imported. These facts may account for the recovery of these early 19th century English/Irish coppers, and suggest the continued use of older ones when a new need arose. As a general statement, unless coins are retrieved in the company of definite time markers, as one might anticipate in a controlled archeological dig, one cannot know just *when* they were dropped by the wayside – but only *where*. While we can infer that specific coins circulated in a region, their period of circulation requires more precise dating. Thank you Todd for your contribution and I would encourage others to share their findings with our readers. **PLM**

● ● More on Wood's Hibernia Coppers (See *CNL* pp. 1908-12)

I am continuing to search for credible evidence which will confirm (or refute) the colonial circulation of Wood's coppers. I am particularly grateful for Todd's report of four more Wood's coppers – a farthing from his inventory list plus the three others he has examined. My thanks also to Brian Danforth and Gary Trudgen each of whom submitted the find of a Wood's halfpenny, thereby increasing my census to six farthings and 84 halfpence. These six new additions come from New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey. The location, but not the density, of these "sightings" is noted on the accompanying map which should be examined in consultation with Table I on *CNL* sequential pages 1910 to 1911. As more Wood's coppers can be geographically linked to specific regions, the better we can define the extent of their circulation. **PLM**



**Map Showing the Location  
of 90 Recovered Wood's Hibernia Coppers**



## COMMENTS ON RF-11 and TN-56

### More on RF-11: Peter Getz silver half dollars

RF-11, printed in December 1963 (*CNL*, p. 73), inquired as to the whereabouts of a specific 1792 Getz silver half dollar overstruck on a French *écu* which was auctioned in the 1859 Bogert Sale. Although the original inquiry relative to the present location of that coin remains unanswered, similar examples of Getz half dollars have appeared from time to time. The following commentary by Associate Editor Michael Hodder discusses five other members of that series with more recent appearances.

"Lot 58 of Stack's 5/93 sale was silver and overstruck on what looked to me to be a 1726-41 *demi-écu aux lauriers*. The one Fuld described on p. 187 of his 1995 COAC article, "Coinage Featuring George Washington," is over a Charles II British *half crown*. The piece in Stack's *Fixed Price List* of 8/93 was over an unattributable undertype. I saw another at Stack's in 9/92 that was over a 4 *Reales* type, uncertain date. Then there is the big guy (Breen-#1359, that used to be in the Mint's Collection) overstruck on a Mexican 8 *Reales* (I catalogued it twice, first in Bowers & Merena 9/89). It's my opinion, that ALL silver Getz pieces will turn out to be overstruck on something else. The confusion in Breen's listing arose because he catalogued the Getz pieces by size and edge device, both of which are functions of the undertypes." **MJH**

### More on TN-56: Center Dots on New Jersey Reverses

In the May 1976, Editor Jim Spilman described in the *CNL* (pp. 539-40) the occurrence of a center dot, similar to those known on Massachusetts silver, on the reverse of certain New Jersey coppers. He concluded that such a device was to aid the die sinker in the punch placement of individual letters in the surrounding legend.

Jim's observation resulted in three responses printed in the October 1976 issue (p. 566) among which Walter Breen reported the same sort of dots on "some Vermont, many Connecticut, a few Massachusetts, and many Philadelphia Mint coppers." In a second follow-up one year later (*CNL*, p. 624), Ned Barnsley inquired if anyone else could confirm Breen's comment that such dots were present on other state coppers, especially the Connecticut series.

Twenty-two years have passed since Barnsley's challenged Breen's conclusion and no one has come forward with supporting evidence. My question to our patrons is twofold: (1) has anyone verified center dots on other state coppers as Breen reported and Barnsley disputed, and (2) what is the current census of New Jersey coppers on which such reverse center dots appear? **PLM**

## Danielson, CT Hoard

by

Gary A. Trudgen: Vestal, NY

In the late spring of 1999, a small hoard of 18<sup>th</sup> century copper coins was discovered in a barn outside of the small community of Danielson, CT. The finder chanced upon the hoard while looking for reusable barn wood. The hoard was wrapped in leather when found and consisted of 14 coins.

All but one of the coins were auctioned on eBay over a period of several weeks. The seller kept the one coin as a memento. The coins were offered one at a time and each posting provided obverse and reverse images of the coin along with a short, superficial description.

The following images of the hoard coins are the same images (with some additional image processing) that were posted by the seller and are reproduced here with his permission. The coins are shown approximately actual size, along with attribution and rarity information, and in the order that they were auctioned.

It appears that the hoard was deposited sometime during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This supposition is based upon the amount of circulation wear exhibited by the latest produced coin in the hoard, that being the Liberty and Security Penny which was minted in 1795. Over half of the coins are Connecticut coppers – some of them rare – with a scattering of other types of copper coins from the same era. All of the coins show signs of circulation although a couple of the Connecticut coppers are well preserved. Overall, the coins have a similar look with lightly porous surfaces.

This find does not compare in magnitude to the Stepney Hoard which was also found in the same geographic area of our country. (The sites are about 80 miles apart.) Although the Danielson Hoard is significantly smaller, it does provide an additional glimpse into what types of copper coins were apparently in circulation in early America. The two hoards appear to be separated by several years in time, however. It is believed that the Stepney Hoard was deposited in the late 1780s, whereas this hoard appears to have been deposited many years later. Interestingly, the makeup of this hoard is similar to the Stepney Hoard with Connecticut coppers in the majority and a notable absence of Fugio cents, Massachusetts and New Jersey coppers. Included in this hoard and not found in the Stepney Hoard are a 1723 Hibernia, 1785 Nova Constellatio and a Liberty and Security penny. Of significance, there were no federal coins in the hoard, suggesting that perhaps these non-federal coins were purposely pulled from circulation.

As with many hoard finds, there seems to be more questions than answers. Interested patrons are encouraged to submit their observations on this newest hoard find.



Coin#1: 1787 CT (M.32.2-X.1, R-2)



Coin#2: 1787 VT (RR-13)





**Coin#3:** (1795) Liberty & Security Penny



**Coin#4:** 1787 CT (M.43.2-X.4, R-6)



**Coin#5:** 1787 CT (M.37.8-LL, R-5)



**Coin#6:** 1785 CT (M.4.4-D, R-7)



**Coin#7:** 1785 CT (M.6.4-I, R-3)



**Coin#8:** 1786 CT (M.4.2-S, R-7)



**Coin#9:** 1787 CT (M.32.1-X.3, R-6)



**Coin#10:** 1723 Hibernia



**Coin#11:** 177? Counterfeit Halfpenny



**Coin#12:** 1775 Regal Halfpenny



**Coin#13:** 1785 Nova Constellatio



**Coin#14:** 1788 CT (M.11-G, R-3)

## *Letter to the Editor*

from

Jeff Rock; San Diego, CA

The publication of Byron Weston's article "Evasion Hybrids: The Missing Link" in *CNL-111* was really something special for the collector. While the *CNL* has published other "single-subject issues" in the past, few have been as well-researched, well-written and wonderfully illustrated as this one. The enthusiasm of the collector is evident throughout the article, and one can almost see the points where the transitions from "collector" to "researcher" to "scholar" were made.

First, let me compliment Weston in his effort to put into print something that many cataloguers and specialists have long suspected – that just because a coin is crudely engraved (and/or struck) does not automatically mean that it is a North American product. While there were certainly some poor engravers and crude minting facilities in the American colonies, the same can be said for England, Ireland, France, Spain and just about every other country that had contact with North America. And just as there were amateur minters on both sides of the Atlantic, there were also very talented people as well – the Atlees, Buells, Ogdens and others who engraved good quality dies and put out a product that was very satisfactory for their time.

This belief by cataloguers and collectors has certainly increased in the past decade as more and more research has been done, but has seldom made it into print. Weston's quotation of the catalogue description for the famous "Banana Nose" variety shows what has most often been done – while some people claim North American origin for the piece, the best that can really be said is that no one really knows where it was struck – it could have been in North America just as easily as England.

Weston also makes an excellent point that place of manufacture and place of circulation need not be the same. Many counterfeit pieces could have been struck in England but have been far too crude to circulate there and shipped over to America for circulation. Does this make a coin "less colonial"? Of course not – many of the legitimate coinages were struck in England or Ireland for American commerce – the Hibernia and Rosa Americana issues, the Virginia halfpennies and a number of other pieces are clearly part of the American colonial series.

While Weston's article will certainly have relevance to the hobby for many years to come, there is one area in which I feel the author has erred, and wish to offer a different point of view. This is the area of the counterfeit Connecticut coppers, catalogued today as 1786 issues Miller 2.3-T, 2.4-S, 2.5-U and 2.6-BRI (this author and other specialists in the series are currently working on an in-depth look at these counterfeit issues which will certainly involve some changes in attribution numbers as well as have far more detail than what is presented here).

Weston suggests that these issues, some of which were discovered somewhere in the 1860s - 1880s by C. Wyllys Betts, were recent productions, probably done by Betts himself, who is known to have produced struck copies of many colonial issues as well as some fantasy pieces that received extensive coverage in the late 19th century and which sold for extremely strong prices at the time (the infamous *Novum Belgium* issue was something of a touchstone for the debate, having fooled one prominent numismatist of the time who rushed his "discovery" into print). (See *CNL*, pp. 63-65, for this story. **PLM**) Weston states that "since Betts was the discoverer of this

crude halfpenny and its Connecticut obverse counterpart, one must wonder if these were indeed contemporary 18th century counterfeits or perhaps only 19th century Betts' fantasies" (*CNL*, p. 1956).

This suggestion is almost certainly incorrect, for a number of different reasons. First of all, Betts only discovered and illustrated two varieties of the "1786 counterfeits" – there are a couple of others that are clearly punch and/or die-linked to the ones that Betts discovered, but which were not found for many decades after Betts' death. Had he manufactured the pieces, he would certainly have produced all the different combinations.

Second, while Betts' early days certainly had a degree of charlatanism involved, it must be remembered that he was a serious numismatist and one who earned a great deal of respect in the hobby despite his earlier shortcomings. It's unlikely that he would risk having the arguments he made in his paper, "Counterfeit Half Pence Current in the American Colonies and their Issue from the Mints of Connecticut and Vermont," nullified by injecting such a risky inclusion. (See the "CNL Databook" starting on p. 747 for a reprint of Betts' famous paper. **PLM**) Remember, this paper was presented to and published by the most august numismatic body in North America and would have been reviewed by several prominent numismatists – almost all of whom would have known about Betts' earlier fantasy strikings. Because no detrimental comment was ever made at the time about the inclusion of these pieces shows that Betts' contemporaries thought the coins to be genuine and their inclusion valid. Had there been any suspicion of these pieces something would have certainly appeared in print – our numismatic forefathers never missed an opportunity to point fingers and sling mud at each other.

Third, Betts never included these pieces in his own account of fantasies that he created, and there is no similar specimen in the collection of Yale University, which received a copy of everything that Betts produced. No examples were in the selection of struck pieces and dies that were sold from the collection of John J. Ford, Jr. a few years back, and none has appeared in any other holding of Betts material.

Fourth, the appearance of the 1786 counterfeits have a distinctly different look and feel from the known Betts' fantasy issues. While both are certainly crude, the engraving style and the lettering are radically different. Betts used worn-down copper coins as the "dies" – he simply engraved his images, in reverse. A blank planchet (or more probably a worn-down coin) was placed between the dies and the whole thing wrapped in lead and struck repeatedly with a hammer. They were never circulated, of course, and while they are crude, they are pretty much "as struck" – you can see nice, squared-off lettering on the Betts' pieces. The 1786 counterfeits are a different story as the known survivors clearly did circulate, and have the residual surface problems associated with their use as currency.

Fifth, these two pieces, the 1786-dated counterfeit British halfpence and the Connecticut piece die-linked with it, were only two of many specimens that Betts illustrated and used to support his thesis. One cannot reject these two pieces and ignore all the others that were included – and no one has suggested that Betts created all of these other issues as well.

Sixth, economically such a counterfeit would just not make sense. The prices for Connecticut coppers in the late 19th century never got much higher than a couple of cents apiece, even for high grade specimens. Collectors of the time were not enamored with crudity, and never paid a premium for such pieces, especially in a series as common as Connecticut coppers. If Betts had produced this piece, he would have spent money on the copper coins needed for the dies and planchets, as well as a lot of time in the engraving and striking processes – not very cost-effective.

Finally, one has to take into account that there are **many** other known varieties of Connecticut coppers that are obviously counterfeit – from the African and Mutton Head issues, to crudely engraved varieties such as the 1787 Miller 1.4-WW, to well-made varieties that are not die or punch-linked to anything else in the series, like the Horned Bust variety and the one variety die-linked to it, 1787 Miller 1.3-L. Given the fact that counterfeits were extensively produced – and obviously accepted in commerce given their degree of wear – it is probable that the 1786-dated counterfeits were of similar origin; that is, they were made to deceive people as currency, not to deceive later collectors.

While nothing can be known for sure about the origins of these coins, I suspect that the large amount of circumstantial evidence presented above makes a better case that the 1786-dated counterfeit Connecticut coppers were likely of contemporary manufacture and not later fantasies.

Again, my congratulations to Byron Weston for a thought-provoking and insightful article, and one which will provide a wonderful starting point for further research into these long-neglected series of coins.